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ABSTRACT

In seminar dialogues, the relationship of youth to the world of work, values related to work, the economic realities, definitions of work, and planning for youth and work were discussed among faculty and students of the University of Minnesota and several members of the general citizenry of the Minneapolis-St. Paul area. It was concluded that the idea of what can be construed as work needs to be expanded, and that we are going to have to be more creative and more accepting of a broad spectrum of life and work styles. (This monograph is a condensation of ideas gathered from eight monthly seminars.) (AG)

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YOUTH
encounters the world of work

CENTER FOR YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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University of Minnesota
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INTRODUCTION

The significance of work in relation to youth has been such an integral part of each of our dialogues since the inception of our interdisciplinary seminars four years ago that the decision to focus extensively on that subject during our eight monthly meetings during this 1972-73 series seemed both natural and mandatory. In reviewing our three previous dialogues, I was struck by how frequently statements revealed and underlined our need, as people concerned with youth, to look closely at our work philosophy, values, economic realities, and the implications of these attitudes, insights, and information for future practice and policy.

All through the seminars of previous years, questions were raised as to why youth today neither see themselves nor are perceived by others as human beings who have significant, ongoing, contributing roles to play in society. This lack of status seems to have caused many youth to feel alienated, despairing, while it has spurred other young people to search for new roles.

Various opinions and reasons were suggested for this separation of youth from meaningful work roles. Some blamed technology and specialization. Some lamented the fact that adult work roles are much less visible and accessible to youth than they were when trades and skills were passed from father to son in small communities, others saw drawbacks to that tradition. Some blamed the schools and their focus on intellectual achievement and others looked at the limited job opportunities for young people at this time.

These differences of opinion, this exchange of various points of view among people of varied ages, backgrounds, occupations and professions is precisely what makes our seminars exciting and important. However, we also realized our need to go beyond our own life experiences and observations in our focus on youth and work and move toward presentations which would give us a wider horizon of factual information based on theoretical studies and practice on which we might base sound youth policies and programs. This is the basic purpose of our monthly seminars.

To examine not only the immediate needs of youth in relation to the economic system, but also the more long-term implications of our values and economic structure for those entering the labor force, the Center for Youth Development and Research organized eight seminars, beginning in October, 1972, and concluding May, 1973. This monograph has restructured those discussions to address several key questions:

1. What does the picture of youth in relation to work look like? What are the employment statistics? What do we know about the attitudes and expectations of youth regarding work?
2. How did our values and expectations about work evolve historically? What do we mean by the concept of the "work ethic"?
3. What are the economic facts facing youth today and in the future? What are the implications for youth of the prospects of limited economic growth, predictions for the configuration of the job market, the impact of revenue sharing, and new program funding policies?
4. What programs and policies now exist or could be devised to help meet youth's needs in relation to work?
5. In what ways can or should our definition of work be expanded or amended to reflect economic realities, social needs and expectations?

Participants in these seminars were constantly impressed with the complexity of these problems and the great variety of responses and suggested solutions. To some of you this may be discouraging: it would be so much easier if the answers indicated one approach to all the problems surrounding youth and work. However, it is my feeling that by listening to a variety of views, by collecting factual material from many sources, these seminars and the Center for Youth Development and Research might help to defeat that simplistic attitude that bases solutions to social problems on feelings and one-sided information alone. We hope that by "opening up the horizon", we may stimulate some new experiments, some reexamination of practices in work with and on behalf of youth, and by taking into account the intense desire of many of our young people to expand and redefine what we mean by "work".

Listed in the sequence as they appear in the text are those who participated in our seminars as principals. Their affiliations give an idea of the scope and the interdisciplinary approach of our investigation:

Henry Borow	Division of Psychology & Family Studies, General College, University of Minnesota
Alan Watts	Student & Richfield Youth Employment Service
Pierce Fleming	Student & Campus Assistance Center, University of Minnesota
Pam Tucker	Student & Staff Member of CYDR

Debbie Crocker	Student, North High School, Minneapolis
Ralph Tuttle	Student, University of Minnesota
Leo Hurwicz	Department of Economics, University of Minnesota
Adamson Hoebel	Anthropology, University of Minnesota
Gisela Konopka	School of Social Work & CYDR, University of Minnesota
Connie Fabunmi	Operation de Novo, Minneapolis
James Wiebler	School of Social Work, University of Minnesota
Linda Cohen	Junior League of Minneapolis
Arvonne Fraser	Women's Equity Action League, Washington, D.C.
Michael Baizerman	CYDR, University of Minnesota
James Field	Detached Worker's Program, YMCA, Minneapolis
Marian Hall	Educational Psychology, University of Minnesota
Glenn Hendricks	Student Life Studies, University of Minnesota
Sherwood O. Berg	Institute of Agriculture, University of Minnesota
Larry Cheetham	Minnesota Manpower Services, St. Paul
Charles Nichols	Vocational Education, Minneapolis Public Schools
George Seltzer	Industrial Relations Department, University of Minnesota
Ralph Berdie	Department of Counselling Psychology, University of Minnesota
Emmet Cushing	Minnesota Department of Manpower Services, St. Paul
Dean Honetschlager	Minnesota State Planning Commission, St. Paul
Miriam Seltzer	CYDR, University of Minnesota
Hyman Berman	Department of History, University of Minnesota
Sunny Hansen	Counselling and Student Personnel, University of Minnesota
Diane Hedin	CYDR, University of Minnesota
Mitchell Berdie	Student & Staff Member of CYDR
Shirley Dahlen	Hennepin County Court Services
Pat Halliday	Hennepin County Court Services
Norma Reilly	National Alliance of Businessmen
William Hoffman	Continuing Education in Social Work, University of Minnesota

Marion Freeman	Campus Assistance Center, University of Minnesota
René Dawis	Department of Psychology, University of Minnesota
Lloyd Lofquist	Department of Psychology, University of Minnesota
Salvador Valdovinos	CYDR, University of Minnesota
Miriam Cohn	School of Social Work, University of Minnesota & Minnesota Resource Center for Social Work Education
Henry Lippman	Give and Take Help Center, Hopkins
Darlene Cruikshank	College of Biological Sciences, University of Minnesota
Ray Geist	Interdisciplinary Programs, University of Minnesota
Steve Dess	Catholic Youth Center, Minneapolis

In addition, the following other community agencies and services and University units were represented at these monthly sessions which averaged 50 in attendance:

Community Agencies and Services:

Anomie Drop-In Center
Arlington House
Bar-None Boy's Ranch
Big House Boy's Group Home
Boy's Club
Brown House
Community Action Center, Northfield
Girl Scouts of St. Croix Valley
Give and Take Help Center
Hennepin County Court Services
Jordan Junior High School
Minneapolis Youth Coordinator's Office
Minnesota Department of Corrections
Montessori Foundation
Neighborhood Youth Corps Out-of-School Program
Northside Youth Service Bureau
Office of Economic Opportunity
Ramsey County Welfare Department
Teenage Medical Center
Washburn Clinic
YMCA
Youth Advocacy Corps, Minneapolis Public Schools
Youth Research Center

University Units:

Afro-American Studies Department
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs
General College
Housing Office
KUOM
Law School

College of Education
College of Home Economics
College of Liberal Arts
Department of Anthropology
Department of Psychological Foundations of Education
Department of Sociology
Office of Delinquency Control
Office of Student Affairs
Police-Community Relations Unit, U of M Police
School of Journalism
Twin Cities International Program
University Union Planning Division

We especially appreciate the contribution of **Nancy Belbas**, who as in previous years, is the hard-working writer/editor of this monograph.

Gisela Konopka, D.S.W.
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EDITORIAL NOTE . . .

The following presentation of ideas and information was gathered from eight monthly seminars. To provide continuity and conciseness to this publication, I have taken editorial license with the transcripts of those meetings. In some instances participants' comments from several separate but related discussions have been combined or interwoven in dialogue. In other cases, I have taken the liberty of summarizing concepts and data.

Hopefully, the participants will find this format acceptable and, along with other readers, will recognize how greatly their individual contributions added to the scope and depth of our discussion.

Nancy Belbas, Writer/Editor

I. YOUTH AND WORK

QUESTION: WHAT DOES THE PICTURE OF YOUTH IN RELATION TO WORK LOOK LIKE?

What do we *know* about youth in relation to work? Perhaps this is the easiest, most logical place to begin a discussion of a subject vastly complicated by conflicts and discrepancies between values and expectations and economic realities. To those of you who might be inclined to feel at the outset that "youth and work" is a somewhat cut and dried topic, let this be a warning: an examination of long and deeply held values, a new look at the biases of our experience, a glimpse at what changes the future might ask of us, the implications of those changes, a reevaluation of what might be considered work, a new definition, these are not simply cognitive issues. By sharing with you edited excerpts and information from our discussions, we hope to involve you in this process of reexamination.

Statistics

In light of questions about whether youth today are even interested in work, a question we will address more fully in a moment, it would seem appropriate to first offer some statistical data. How many youth are actively involved in the world of work? Department of Labor statistics published in the summer of 1972 provide these facts: among youth 16-22 years of age in the United States, 15,270,000 were in the labor force, which means they were either employed or seeking work. In that age category, 7,339,000 youth were neither looking for employment nor working. Of those who wanted to work, 12.7 million youth were employed; 2,322,000 or 15.5% were unemployed. In the last four years, the highest rate of unemployment was in the summer of 1971 when it reached 17.3%, reflecting a general economic slowdown and the lowest youth unemployment rate was charted in 1969 when economic conditions were favorable. The Minnesota Department of Manpower Services estimates that in the summer of 1973, 350,227 or 74.8% of state youth between the ages of 16 and 21 will be looking for employment and 54,000 or 10,000 more than in the summer of 1972 will be unemployed. As a rule of thumb, unemployment percentages usually follow this pattern: if unemployment for

the population as a whole is 5%, the unemployment rate for nonwhites will be 10%; for youth 15%, for nonwhite youth 20%.

Early in 1973, the Department of Labor also published a statistical study[1] on the reactions of young people 18 to 25 years of age in Chicago, Illinois, and Hartford, Connecticut to their first and second job situations. The sample survey indicated that 30% of those surveyed felt "highly disaffected" with their work; 40% were "pretty well satisfied" and 30% were "highly satisfied". Compared to a not totally similar study done in 1965, the number of "highly disaffected" young people has risen 5-7%. Interestingly, employment figures for the age group 25-35 show far less movement from job to job and less dissatisfcation, which one might interpret as indicating that with age, marriage and family responsibilities, one is more willing to compromise expectations to maintain a standard of living.

Youth's expectations of work

When we talk about expectations, however, we need to be more specific. Are we, as anthropologist Adamson Hoebel queried, less willing to accept the idea that living and learning do not come easily; are we less willing to acknowledge what an old Comanche Indian once told him, "that one must suffer to get this religion"? "Is this hedonistic view of life, which is largely an egocentric one, spreading in our culture at the present time?" The following statement and subsequent discussion with career development psychologist Henry Borow suggests this is not the case.

Borow: We are beginning to get some very interesting studies suggesting that statements about American youth today being turned off by the establishment, by work, that their values are quite different, that they basically have a distaste for work, are true for only a small minority of young men and women. A study done by the Research Institute at the University of Michigan[2] and a May, 1972, survey conducted by Purdue Univer-

[1] U.S. Department of Labor, *Career Thresholds: A Longitudinal Study of the Education and Labor Market Experience of Male Youth*, Vol. 3, Manpower Research Monograph #16, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

[2] Douvan, Elizabeth and Joseph Adelson, *The Adolescent Experience*, N.Y.: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966.

sity[3] using national samples indicate quite clearly that the occupational values and aspirations of young Americans today are not really significantly different from those of their parents, nor are they really so drastically different from those of even earlier generations. But the way in which they see the problem of work, the way in which they see the battle fought or won is different. By that I mean that youth who are critical about work in American society are not necessarily rejecting work, but are in fact demanding more from work than ever before, and they are more demanding as they are brighter and better educated. We seem to have moved into a stage in our social and economic history in this country when people, and not youth alone, have come to expect from work more than a way to gain the respect of adults in their life, more than a way of gaining access to "the good life". If you look at those Purdue studies, the Michigan studies, the very perceptive work done by Elizabeth Douvan and Joel Adelson at the University of Michigan called, *The Adolescent Experience*,[4] you will find that many young people are seeking a kind of virtue and ethic out of work which may well make Max Weber look like a hedonist.

To give the seminar some concrete, informal data about youth's expectations, experiences and insights regarding work, six young people were asked to participate in a panel discussion as the focus of one seminar meeting. They included a program director of a residential treatment house for adolescent girls; a University senior and applicant for the Graduate School of Social Work; a senior in the School of Business Administration; a high school senior who is a part-time waitress; a fifth year senior in the University's Industrial Relations Department, who is director of the Richfield Youth Employment Service; and a University sophomore, former Viet Nam medic, part-time garbage collector and counselor at the Campus Assistance Center. While it is important not to generalize about all youth from their comments, their discussion generally underlined Dr. Borow's observations regarding the very high expectations of youth

[3] "Vocational Plans and Preferences of Adolescents", Report of Poll No. 94 of the Purdue Opinion Panel, Lafayette, Indiana: Measurement and Research Center, Purdue University, May, 1972.

[4] Douvan, op. cit.

about work. The young people answered several questions:

What do you feel is essential to being happy with one's job, to finding work meaningful? One participant pointed out that work was just one part of life, that perhaps satisfaction depended on the extent to which one's aim in life and one's work supplement and coincide with each other.

Watts: Is it really a question of work being meaningful or life being meaningful? I don't know how many other young people feel the way I do, but I have felt frustrated the last three or four years, especially since I've been married, trying to bring together what I really want to accomplish as a productive member of society and what I would feel comfortable doing. This might be a life-long question. I wonder whether others are struggling with it and how they have found their individual resolutions. There are so many things I want to do, relationships I want to have, people I want to meet, things I want to keep as part of my life. Since becoming more professional the last couple of years I have had to – or at least felt I did – give up a lot of relationships I really wanted to develop. That, I guess is my main concern.

Other responses to this question were: having control, autonomy, independence, decision-making power; having some flexibility; feeling that one's skills and talents were being well utilized; personal relationships on the job . . .

Fleming: Meaningfulness would probably be the number one thing I would like to have on the job, but I would also want to like the people I work with. If they were good people, they would be friends. There would be trust and honesty between us.

. . . being perceived as a whole person; being respected for what one is and not for what one does (for example, not being categorized as "the envelope stuffer"); being able to maintain one's self-respect.

What opportunities do you see for yourself? The answers varied. Most agreed that unskilled work would be relatively easy to find; that more responsible positions would require training and further education. Most saw the opportunities as changing and fluid.

P. Tucker: My view is that people change constantly, so it also holds that work should change to help people grow and develop.

There was an extended discussion about whether one ever really reaches one's goals, and the general feeling was that probably one does not ever reach that point, that life is a process of working towards and trying to actualize one's dreams, but not necessarily reaching them.

What alternatives, options do you see open to you in finding a meaningful and productive role? Responses were: alternating work and study or travel . . .

Crocker: I've been working as a waitress for about six months. I've liked the people and the experience. I chose it above being a secretary. However, I can't see working constantly and taking one week a year for vacation. What I plan to do is buy a car and travel with my savings.

. . . leaving the system and defining one's own life style, supplementing work with volunteer or community service and hobbies . . .

Watts: Is it really necessary for a person's work to be meaningful if he or she has other things to satisfy him? I joined the Richfield J.C.'s last summer and my impression was that a lot of the young men there felt they were in jobs which really didn't use their potential. It seemed evident that with the leadership training program they were getting in the community they were trying to better utilize some of the talents they felt they had to broaden their effect on the community – something they couldn't do in their jobs.

. . . taking the risk of finding new work roles, perhaps with the help of further education and training . . .

Tuttle: I don't think youth today are quite as security conscious as they were in previous periods. Youth seem more willing to take risks, are more willing to take the chance of finding a new job for greater satisfaction. I see this as one way I differ significantly from my parents who really felt they couldn't take the chance of changing, however they might feel about their work.

Regarding how many young people are willing to take risks to find meaningful roles, some polls reveal a youth population which is just as security conscious and bound by materialistic aims as the parent generation. On the other hand, a White House Conference report[5] said that college-age youth give top priority to finding work which addresses critical social problems, rather than to jobs which offer the most money and security. The question was raised about whether the social welfare system could or should be used as a means of facilitating choice. For example, should we subsidize people while they train for or search out work roles which are right for them? Opinions about whether this was legitimate or helpful varied. There were also implications to some of the other responses. Can we, as a society, function if many decide to leave the system to pursue creative, individualistic life styles? What is a "productive member of society"?

Watts: When there is so much work which needs to be done, can society really afford to have workers who leave established jobs as laborers, doctors, accountants, etc.? Maybe this feeling of having to be a productive member of society is necessary. Perhaps very few of us will have the luxury of being able to do what we want.

How would you define "settling down"? Several said, to them this meant having children; that children were an anchor which slowed down pursuing one's own aims. Others said: being comfortable with one's level of accomplishment; reaching the goal one has set; having the money to do some of the things one wants; feeling one can compromise; being able to help others.

What job would you absolutely refuse to accept? There was agreement that the answer to that question was directly affected by the need to survive, that one can refuse jobs if one isn't hungry. Assuming that there was choice, the kinds of jobs these youth would refuse would be those which are: monotonous, repetitious, which mold the individual and demand conformity, where there is no personal control, where one is forced to lie, where there are racial inequities.

[5] *Report of the White House Conference on Youth,* Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 4000-0267, 1971.

Youth's perceptions of our economic world

Thus, while the statistical and less formal, verbal data cited indicate that youth, by and large, are both involved in and interested in work, there is also evidence that young people are somewhat perplexed and bewildered by our economic society. What does the world of work look like through the eyes of our young people?

Hurwicz: What strikes me when I look at the perspectives opening up before a young person at the present time is the fantastically pessimistic predictions which abound in current literature. If you look at the way people have thought of the future since World War II, pessimism has been a much more constant feature than any rational reasons for it. Of course, we have to remember the concerns of people because of the danger of nuclear fallout, the concerns we now have with respect to food additives and the environment. However, I would agree with a chap who wrote an editorial letter to the *New York Times* last spring who commented that apparently we live in an age when pessimism sells better. One has only to read Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb*. One chapter begins that the battle to feed all humanity is over, that in the 70's and 80's, millions will starve despite what anyone can do. You would think that there would be no hurry to publish the book if the battle is all over.

Borow: While there may be little substantiation for this doubt about the future in general or the future of work on the basis of predictions of economic or ecological disaster or change, one cannot overlook the fact that uncertainty has permeated the way our youth see their economic future. I think this is very real to most young people. Adding to their dilemma is the fact that in the eyes of many youth we seem to live in an extravagantly wealthy kind of adult society. We have an economy of abundance. Most of us do not work to eat. For several reasons youth are neither clear how our life got this way nor how they can become part of it. Unlike the beginning of this century, youth, particularly young men, are no longer an economic asset. Abundance and technology have allowed us to use age and education, certification and diplomas both as a means of controlling the supply and demand for labor and as mechanisms for denying young people full and early entry into the

world of work. Also, work roles of people in the community aren't as visible to growing youth as they once were when the tradition of passing on a trade from father to son was still the rule.

Ironically, industrial efficiency, the very feature which allowed us as a nation to triple our gross national product since the beginning of this century and, therefore, also to triple the buying power of the individual family, has also led to a devaluation of the human return from the work environment. The high priority of work efficiency has depersonalized, dehumanized the work setting of millions of people. In this way our economic values have not only ravaged our natural resources, they have also taken a very real psychological toll among our population. If there is a general feeling of alienation among the young, I think it can be attributed to this factor: that we have said by our actions and in our policies that getting a job done well and efficiently is more important than satisfying the worker or integrating the less efficient young. As we look at reports of worker unrest among employees across generation lines, rising absenteeism and alcoholism would seem to indicate that youth have made the need for more human return from work an inescapable factor in job satisfaction for all generations.

Hurwicz: I think it is true that while we have read literature and have heard opinions expressed that the new ethic is not to work, that this is not born out by statistics, as we have said. It is still true more often than not that those who do not work are those who haven't the opportunity. However, if there is any motivational factor, I would attribute it in part to a consequence of this very efficient system of which you just spoke and that is that the link between the social good which a person's work accomplishes and the work itself has become much less visible, much more circumscribed and mechanical than it was under less industrialized conditions. To me the remedy may lie in encouraging people to enter into more socially meaningful work and wherever possible to emphasize the significance of individual effort and make room for creativity and decision-making on even a small scale.

Borow: It seems that what we are seeing in youth's expectations is this renewed need for meaning. Along with the difficulty of finding employment, this need

seems to make youth's task of finding a role in the world even more fearsome than it was for those of us who grew up during the Depression. During the 30's, just to work at a legitimate occupation was enough. Despite horrendous unemployment figures, we all knew the Depression would not last forever, that at least the adults in our society would eventually find some employment, menial or otherwise, and that there was virtue in validating the Horatio Alger myth: work hard, dress properly, have a good, clean moral record, flaunt any credentials you might have and success was assured.

Hoebel: As you were talking about the Depression, there flashed into my mind a birthday card message I received four decades ago when I was exercising the American work ethic as a part-time worker in the summer, digging ditches and sweeping streets. One of my fellow workers gave me a card which said, "Happy birthday. No sentimental mush from me, Old pal. Of that stuff not a bit. Here's where the horney hand of toil unfolds its velvet mitt." That stuck with good reason. But that was a period, also, when, as I poured out honest sweat, I would reinforce my flagging spirits by quoting to myself from the Labor Day proclamation of Grover Cleveland, "The true American spirit is that to labor is good and honor lies in honest toil." This was on a calendar in my parents' house. Now this is really your issue, isn't it? How many Americans really believe that today, that this is the "true American spirit"?

Konopka: What I think you are reflecting is a change in attitude, perhaps, but also a romanticizing of the past. I feel it's really an impossibility to look on all work as good, noble, virtuous. When I grew up few people were able to do what they really wanted. My father sold eggs for a living, although he would rather have been reading the classics. Necessity is what made it possible for him to continue. What is important in maintaining "spirit" if you will, or human dignity, is that people have options from which to choose what they will do.

Borow: And I think many young people today are trying to optimize their choices. Many are unwilling to quickly or easily slip into a vocational or professional slot. Many are rebelling against the myth of preparing for a work future on an adult time schedule, allowing four years for high school and four years for college or

other training. Many seem to be very planless about their work future in this sense. However, underneath this and the hyperbolic vigor of criticism by youth of the world of work, its dehumanization, its ecological bombardment of the earth, I think it is important to recognize the vast reservoir of doubt youth themselves have about what they are saying. Youth do realize there is no way other than work to gain adult status, a measure of autonomy and self-fulfillment in a society which says that to work is to be an adult. In my own work as counselor, I find that no matter what youth say as an opening salvo, sooner or later they express some wish for a mechanism by which they can find for themselves productive, socially responsible and meaningful roles.

II. VALUES AND WORK

QUESTION: HOW DID OUR VALUES AND EXPECTATIONS ABOUT WORK EVOLVE HISTORICALLY? WHAT DO WE MEAN BY THE CONCEPT OF THE "WORK ETHIC"?

To say that our work values have or have not changed, to refer to a "new work ethic" would seem to invite us, at this point, to take a closer look at where our values are rooted, how our values have evolved historically.

Two definitions need to be clarified before we begin. First, what is a "value"? A classic sociological dictionary defines "value" in these terms: "Value is strictly a psychological reality. It is not measurable by any means yet devised. It is to be sharply distinguished from 'utility' because its reality is in the human mind, not in the external object itself. Ultimate values are axiomatic; their existence may be discovered by social or psychological research, but neither their validity nor their justifiability can be demonstrated. At the same time they are vague, psychological, values are the final forces which motivate all conscious, rational, purposeful behavior." Secondly, what do we mean by "ethic". The dictionary tells us "ethics" is "the study of standards of conduct and moral judgment". With these touchstones in mind, share with us this seminar discussion and re-examination of our work philosophy:

The development of work values

Konopka: There has existed in the United States a notion that this is a country in which everyone works. This is very true. We have always had great pride in our work standards. But to claim our work ethic is Puritan in origin is simply not true. Having traveled across the world, I have found in every poor, struggling nation enormously high work ethics because survival was at stake. When this country was founded, people worked harder because the country was newer, but also because, except perhaps in the tradition of the Southern gentleman, the attitudes of the European bourgeoisie did not permeate this culture. Jacques Maritain has expressed it well:

> Indeed, when some literary gentleman begins to explain the essence of American society by reference to Puritanism, the chances are that he will be talking nonsense. What he probably has in mind is the feeling of earnestness that prevails in this society, where in contrast to the aspirations and habits of the European bourgeoisie, everyone works, housewives and children included.[6]

The difference between American attitudes toward work and those in other countries is beautifully exemplified in the comments made to me by a friend, the chairman of a psychology department in a highly recognized university, who visited from Holland several years ago. While he was here he said to me, "Gisa, it's unbelievable. You don't know that the climate here is very therapeutic for me. For the first time I can tell people with pride that my father was a night watchman and had 12 children. In Holland everyone assumes that I come from an intellectual family."

I use this as an example, because I don't think we in this country realize the extent to which, historically, and in other cultures, work has had assigned status. In European societies physical labor had an exceedingly low status. That value is clearly reflected in the use of different words for "labor" and "significant productivity", such as "arbeit" and "werk" in German. In English we usually refer to both kinds of activity simply as "work". From earliest times, into the Middle Ages

[6] Maritain, Jacques, *Reflections on America,* N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958, pp. 30-31.

and the classical period, manual labor was perceived as something very unworthy, something done only by the lowest people, the ones you do not recognize. In this scheme, it was only the upper classes that had "culture" and they are distinguished from people who "work". The concept of culture which Americans use means the totality of a society. In Germany or France, on the other hand, "culture" means something esoteric, spiritual. In the 17th century Pascal wrote about the "honnet homme," the gentleman of leisure whose dignity is above work, who has the capacity to fully appreciate literature, art and music.

Another class system is found in India where for generations, for example, a certain caste of people has been street sweepers and are assumed to continue as such, in spite of the Indian government's attempts to change this. What I am saying is that we are dealing with a way of thinking that has been in the history of mankind for a long time. To overcome such emotional biases will take enormous preparation.

Hoebel: I think the situation you mentioned in India is an example of the fact that work values are really part of a total cultural system and world view. In other words, the conceptualization of work can be much more than a part of the economic system or social system.

Konopka: The change in these attitudes toward work in Europe really occurred with the upward movement of labor organizations which advocated that even physical work is important, significant, and has intrinsic value. Hannah Arendt, in her history of the human condition, traces the transition:

The sudden rise of labor from the lowest, most despised position to the highest rank, as the most esteemed of all human activities had its beginning when Locke discovered that labor is the source of all property. It followed its course when Adam Smith asserted that labor was the source of all wealth; and found its climax in Marx' system of labor when labor became the source of all productivity and the expression of the very humanity of man. Thereafter, Carlisle wrote that "work alone is noble", James Russell Lowell said "Bless the Horney hand of toil" and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow celebrated the Village Black Smith, "his brow wet with honest sweat".[7]

[7] Arendt, Hannah, *The Human Condition,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Now, I thought this was a most interesting insight. First, it shows a division of culture and labor to which we still cling to some degree. Secondly, there is the assertion that labor is significant in relation to money or property. Then finally, labor moves up farther to be recognized as a significant activity, something of which one can be proud. To understand this is to understand some of the current anger of the "hard hats" who in a sense are fighting for pride in the old work ethic and for their recently acquired sense of worth and dignity.

As I see it, work is becoming more and more accepted in our time, not as a contrast to culture, but as a means of integrating culture and labor. I think today many see in physical work the possibility of expressing one's creativity, one's individuality. This is reflected in the interest many people have in building their own homes, becoming artisans. This has been part of the American Indian culture for centuries, by the way.

The work ethic as an ideal

Konopka: Now, let's talk about the work ethic as an ideal. What are its attributes? To my way of thinking the work ethic is synonymous with reliability, that one does what one is committed to doing. Secondly, I think it includes excellence, the persistent effort to accomplish something as best one can. Thirdly, I think the work ethic has meant to many that if one is valuable, one is well paid. Some youth are rebelling against this standard, but for those who are deprived, who have nothing, money is undeniably and understandably essential.

Fabunmi: It has been my experience in this country and from living abroad in terms of knowing people who have little and those who have much, that it's very hard for people to reject what they haven't already experienced. It's only possible when you have enough money and the alternative of having enough things that acquiring more comes to have less value.

Konopka: I would agree with you. When I talk about work ethics, I realize there are some jobs in which standards are comparatively easy to fulfill because the job and work themselves are so completely satisfying. For others, one does the job well because one is paid to do it well. For still others, one works simply because one must. I think all three kinds of motivations are legiti-

mate and that it would be a mistake to generalize.

Yet, as difficult as it is, I would like to suggest here and perhaps talk about it at greater length later that we may need to consider a very basic value question and policy: should we consider paying those who do the difficult, unsatisfying jobs more and those who find their work fulfilling less? What I am suggesting is that maybe we could lessen social friction and discrepancies between those who work to live and those who live to work, so to speak, if we attach greater monetary rewards to unfulfilling tasks.

Hoebel: For a mobile society, such as this has been, where most status positions are not determined by birth, and are less and less so, we have been going through a long period where money or what you received for what you do provides you with a visible token or social reward, whether it's your house, your car, what have you. However, we might also consider what would happen if we came to accept the idea that money is paid out as a right to all individuals in the society at a minimal level in a guaranteed minimum income. Then, money loses a large part of what it once had as a token system. Here the problem is what do you then substitute as the other alternative for goal achievement within a society?

Wiebler: But you see, I don't think there is any way we could ever go back to money coming only from jobs. We are not there now and we haven't been there for a long time. Consequently, I feel a job somehow has to be seen as somewhat distinct from income maintenance. A job ought to give us meaning as well as money. I hope later on we can get into a more extended discussion of a new definition of work, one which includes such important social tasks as raising children, being educated, and merely living during those particularly vulnerable periods of life when one is either very young or very old.

Konopka: Yes, we need to address ourselves to a more comprehensive definition of work. To me any kind of activity or work is valuable and significant as long as it is directed toward an aim in life. In this sense, I would like to see the "work ethic" applied to excellence and reliability in unpaid work, as well.

Fraser: One of my concerns in the women's movement is that by defining "work" only as that for which one is

paid, we might be in danger of losing the social value of volunteer work. Also, I think we have to consider the implications and feasibility of having everyone in the labor force at the same time, working eight hours a day for pay.

Cohen: From my experience with volunteers, I often see people feeling more willing, more valid, more acceptable, more credible if they are paid for what they do. And the difference is not only in the volunteer herself, but there is often a difference in how she is received and accepted by those who use her services.

Baizerman: One other thought about volunteering. I think what I hear from you is the notion of volunteering from one perspective is to get someone to do something for nothing. From the perspective of many in the counterculture, however, someone who gets paid to do something is really "ripping off" because if you really wanted to do it, you'd do it for nothing. This may or may not be one of those values one holds because affluence doesn't force us to have to worry about survival.

Another point I would like to raise is this: part of the way of looking at the work ethic is to separate out the parts. There is an ethic called The Work Ethic; there are work ethics in the plural, and then there are ethics people hold in terms of their style of relating to one another and their beliefs about this. If we can look at the interdependent kinds of relationships among people and then look at those kinds of ethics of interdependency, then I think for me we get closer to dealing with some of the kinds of issues we are raising. That is, what is the quality of the pattern of relationships among people who are working in particular kinds of social and work situations? I think this is a different kind of notion about work ethics than the one we started with and it may be one that is in a sense more real. What are the day-to-day kinds of normative rules that we have in respect to the people with whom we work? What we come up with then is an ethic more related to the work process than to the goal that is accomplished.

Konopka: It is my wish, too, that we reach a definition of work ethics which stresses reliability and excellence in human relationships. And I feel this is neither idealistic nor unrealistic because in a society such as ours in

which strict independence is impossible and interdependence is inescapable, trust is essential.

Besides extending the idea of realiability to human relations, there are two other points I would like to make if one is to talk about what "ought to be" in relation to the transmission of values to youth:

. . . If one views work as a fulfillment of inner creativity, then work is basic to human and individual freedom.

. . . All work, no matter how satisfying, involves some drudgery. It is the long-range goal which pulls one through.

III. ECONOMIC REALITIES AND WORK

QUESTION: WHAT ARE THE ECONOMIC FACTS FACING YOUTH TODAY AND IN THE FUTURE?

In order to better serve the needs of youth, to design and implement policies and programs which might help youth better relate to the world of work, it is important to understand some facts about our economic system. However, to move from expectations and values to a discussion of economic realities is not easy. In a time when change and flux are, paradoxically, the "constants", one can better deal with the possibilities than probabilities in discussing predictions about the future. Moreover, those economic policies which currently affect youth are so subject to revision one can only hope this discussion is not factually obsolete by the date of this publication. Therefore, we proceed cautiously.

Looking to the future

There are two or three broad perceptions of our economic future which, though controversial, are especially relevant to our discussion. One version of what may lie ahead was discussed by Leo Hurwicz in reference to the book *Limits to Growth*,[8] published this year by the Club of Rome, an aggregate body of economists, social and physical scientists and mathematicians:

[8] Meadows, Donella, et.al., *The Limits to Growth*, N.Y.: Universe Books, 1972.

Hurwicz: *Limits to Growth* is an example of one of those pessimistic pronouncements I spoke of earlier in reference to the kind of pervasive gloom confronting youth. The basic assumption of this study is: if the present growth rate remains unchanged, if the population increases geometrically or exponentially, and food, methods of waste disposal, and industrial capacity increase only at a linear rate, then limits to growth will be reached sometime in the next one hundred years. The result will be a rather sudden, total, and uncontrollable decline in both population and industrial capacity.

While the bases for this prediction are something I wish to question in a moment, I do think we need to think together about the implications of this statement. If the economic pie of the world were to reach a steady or nonexpansive state, then one could expect a much tougher fight over who gets what share. The poorer nations, deprived people, will not accept an eternal sentence of a low standard of living. Consequently, we will have to face the question of how the pie is going to be distributed. I think we would immediately say that there is a lot of waste which could be avoided and used to supplement the low end of the scale. And one could also say that some people have too much wealth and should redistribute their surpluses. But there is a basis for skepticism as to whether, with the present total as it now exists, one could reasonably hope for a decent average standard of living for the earth as a whole. I would like to suggest that the era of the mindless expansion of the pie is over and probably will be. However, I am not so pessimistic as to believe that human potential and creativity cannot cope with these new economic realities. And for this reason I do not believe in the inevitability of the outcomes the Club of Rome predicts.

The *Limits to Growth* thesis rests on several assumptions: (1) That the population will continue to increase at the present rate; (2) That increased income necessarily means an increase in the consumption of material goods; (3) That full employment necessarily depends on growth in technology and investment; (4) That unemployment is the unavoidable result of low population growth. I myself feel these extrapolations may be very misleading. For example, is the recent, almost zero population growth reached recently in the United States any indication of what will happen in China, India, and the Middle East? Those areas are

experiencing dramatic changes. Rather than the consumption of material goods there is evidence that increased income may mean increased purchase of services of various kinds, the utilization of human beings helping other human beings. Employment, I think has more to do with economic policies than with population growth. The science of economics has developed enough of an arsenal to create opportunities for full employment – and by full, I don't mean that everyone works 40 hours a week, but as much as he subjectively finds attractive to work. There are models for new employment policies in Europe that we might try. I also think we can be more creative about what we define as work. This may mean that what we now call leisure or involvement in public affairs will overlap with what we call work. This has implications for an evaluation or reconsideration about the forms of reward we offer. I believe we have to think of new ways to involve the young, the minorities, the aging. In other words, my greatest fear in terms of shortages is that we will be lacking in brainpower and imagination.

Berg: I am also convinced that we need very creative ways of approaching our resource problems. There is little doubt that we will have six billion people on this planet by the end of this century. Can we do this with the resources we have? What is going to be required is that we find substitutes for limited materials such as uranium. I look at the greatest source of energy to be the sun. Every hour of sunshine rains down 50,000 b.t.u.'s of energy. And we really haven't captured that source of energy at all. We also have a lot of flexibility regarding our food supply. A great deal can be done in the area of plant genetics and animal physiology to actually change the performance and growth in a great variety of our crops and livestock.

Field: When you talk about the fact that we are going to have to begin employing more of the mind, I wondered if you meant that in the gross context or whether you meant we are going to have to find two or three brilliant people to figure things out.

Hurwicz: What I meant was in no way an implication that we need two or three smart people, but rather the kinds of changes that have to occur when there is an imaginative technological leadership and a great number

of the kinds of people who can translate this information into usable form, into reality.

Hall: I feel concerned when you talk about the need for brainpower about the unemployed Ph.D.'s in our society. If what makes meaningful employment is that society can use those skills and talents, then what happens when society doesn't seem able to utilize this education and training?

Hurwicz: I feel the seeming surpluses in so many fields is an indication that there is a failure in the social mechanism. We don't seem to be doing the kinds of things which we basically know how to do and can do to operate our economy well. The needs and availability of manpower are not properly meshing as things stand now and from that point of view there is no contradiction in saying that this country needs the contribution of all kinds of social service experts and the fact that graduates in those fields are not getting the jobs they need. Ideally, the motivation to change this employment scheme might come more readily if the 93% of the population which has no trouble getting work could somehow develop some empathy for the 7% which does.

Borow: However, I think there are some crises that our institutions of higher learning are going to have to face. One is that they are going to have to concern themselves with the job market to some extent. We have legislatures, including our own and the business world who are ready to test the assumption we have held; namely, that more education leads to a greater return in terms of productivity. This simply isn't true: each educational dollar isn't returning a dollar in terms of the consumer's ability to consume. One solution to this dilemma would seem to be the development of training in our colleges and universities for those human services the world so desperately needs. This depends, of course, on whether we can solve these ridiculous problems of distribution and really get concerned about our disadvantaged and deprived fellow man. We already are training people in health fields, in recreation, mental health, education, and day care. But we really have only begun to scratch the surface. If we got our economic house in order we could provide a higher standard of consumption and still provide real, meaningful, needed services. We have millions of people who live out lonely and miserable lives;

we have kids who are emotionally battered and disabled. There are endless possibilities.

Hendricks: I am struck by the unexamined assumption that we are able to be social engineers, that we do have the knowledge, but there are other kinds of interests which interpose themselves. Doesn't this suggest that we really don't have the control and techniques to make social decisions and bring about social change? I have great doubts about whether we can predict the outcomes of planned social and economic change.

Berg: I am basically in agreement with you. But I do think there is knowledge in certain areas which could lead to a different state in our society. We do live in a pluralistic culture and there are value judgments which enter into what we do and which shape action priorities and policy.

Hurwicz: My own view is that we are not even exploiting those techniques which we are familiar with at present. While you are entitled to think in terms of this discussion as an assumption, I believe we have learned from experience in this and other countries that there are techniques for handling such problems as unemployment.

Possible configurations of the job market

This section of seminar dialogue raises several related and difficult questions. For example, what are the possible configurations of the job market of the future? Will we need more persons trained in vocational schools, more persons educated at a college level or beyond? What predictions are being made? What are the social implications of these economic patterns?

A. Tucker: What seems to be bothering young people now and what I want to talk about is the gap between the predicted needs of society and the training which is being offered. For example, five, six, ten years ago there was a projected need for teachers. Now there aren't enough positions for educators. Is there a way we can do a better job of predicting the kinds of jobs and skills which will be needed in the future?

Cheetham: The Department of Labor can do a better job than it has been doing in the past of projecting and making some predictions. I agree that the information

they have been providing the last 15-20 years has not been as good as it could have been. There also is a problem between the Department of Labor and educational institutions. Unfortunately, those institutions chose to ignore what Labor was saying about a teacher surplus several years back.

Nichols: I can give you some very general kinds of statistics the Department of Labor is offering now. They suggest that in the 1970's, 30% of job requirements will require specialized training, even at the high school level. Fifty percent of job openings in this decade will require something beyond high school, but less than college. Thirty thousand types of jobs will be available in 1980, as opposed to 21,000 today. Slightly less than 25% of all high school graduates are now involved in vocational, technical training programs. So you can see we already have a disparity between projected needs and training registration.

Borow: From my point of view I think we have been guilty of making a simplistic distinction between white and blue collar workers. I think we can no longer categorize the kinds of jobs which come out of vocational schools as blue collar. As a matter of fact, in terms of the outlook of these youth, their planning for vocation and their life style seem to be very much more like professionals than the casual day laborer. The real distinction comes between the worker who is on the assembly line and the person who does almost anything else. Since about the middle of this century we really haven't been a blue collar nation. Seventy percent of the jobs are white collar in the sense they no longer involve manual labor.

Fraser: The sophistication of skilled worker's jobs was brought home to me recently in a conversation I had with the head of the steam fitters union. He was concerned about the caliber of new, young employees entering the trade, that the level of technological sophistication really required college material and often the trades were not attracting the brightest young people. Now I think when we hear about the large numbers of youth who are choosing trade schools over college, this problem may be resolved but it does suggest that we should be giving new status to skilled occupations.

G. Seltzer: However, I want to raise some very difficult questions. Let's talk about the possible configurations of the job market. Does a high degree of technology necessarily mean or mandate a high degree of employee training, skill or competence? It seems to me there is a great deal of uncertainty about this. Normally, the configuration of the job market resembles a pyramid, lots of low-skilled jobs, gradually moving up towards the higher skilled jobs. It is true that in the future we will undoubtedly be living with higher technology than we have now. But we may very well have a configuration of jobs which resembles a barbell: in other words, a cluster of jobs up here and a cluster at the bottom and not very much in between. It is not inconceivable. If this configuration is a correct one, a lot of conversation about status and additional years of school may not necessarily be very helpful. Of course, I am in favor of education. But I am also concerned about over-educating in a vocational sense.

Another implication of this possible reality is that we as a society will have frustrated expectations and low incomes to go with these jobs. Should we have a very broad base of $1.60 per hour positions, and then at the top, jobs that pay several thousand, there may very well be a growing gap between these different job groups which will increase tensions within our society. There will be frustrated expectations not only for our youth and disadvantaged, but for our population generally because there will no longer be a high degree of occupational and social mobility. Our society may need to seek other ways of providing dignity, income, political stability, and for meeting expectations.

Hoebel: I, too, rather suspect that the time will come when work and the opportunity to do productive work will be available for only a small part of the population and will be considered quite a privilege, because by and large that will be the power elite in the society of the future. We are going to have more and more workers who contribute to the maintenance of the total complex but may not be visibly productive. If this happens, how do you balance the motivation of those who will do productive work at the same time you give satisfaction to those who will be the "maintainers"?

R. Berdie: I can't really answer your question, but I would like to examine your assumptions. One

assumption I would like to make – and maybe it's even a fact now – is that there are differential changes in job opportunities and there will continue to be. I think most people tend to agree that the human service occupations will require different kinds of trained people, as Henry Borow mentioned. This does, I will agree, make some assumptions about the willingness of the social order to fund new roles. If we continue to have the same kind of government that we have now, if technology continues to change as it has in the past, if business and industry and government continue to have the same tax structure we have now, then what you say might well happen. But I cannot conceive that everything will remain constant.

G. Seltzer: What I was trying to predict was technology requirements. Now we are talking about changing values of society and other things you might have to consider. What you are talking about is a changing group of services that don't exist in a sufficient number now and perhaps don't exist at all. Meanwhile, the numbers of low paying, low-status jobs are multiplying and many are going unfilled even though employment is not full. I think there is some confusion over this term "human services". In terms of what we have today, that category covers such roles as carry-out boy, hotel and motel employees, hair dressers, etc.

Wiebler: The problem, of course, is how do you get the money to those people who are going to do these new kinds of jobs that are desirable, but yet to be created? That is a problem of social policy. It says that we will need to begin paying people to do things that they are not doing now. Otherwise, where are these jobs going to come from? How are you going to get the money associated with that task rolling?

Baizerman: It's also a question of what you are going to choose as the social location and instrumentality for doing that which the social collectivity wants or needs to have done. The system does have leverage.

Impact and Implications of Federal Revenue Sharing

Because social and political location and instrumentality are at the very heart of policy matters regarding Federal Revenue Sharing legislation, this would seem an appropriate time to discuss this very current economic situa-

tion which does and will affect youth and work. This shift in the direction of this discussion away from the broader perceptions of our economic system is made with an awareness that we have reached no conclusions or answers about which picture of our future we choose to believe is either desirable or correct. All we can share with you is our feeling that there are, obviously, no easy, clear answers, only complex contingencies and some very basic value questions which we, adults and youth alike, must face together.

The practical implications of revenue sharing provide only slightly surer ground for discussion. What seems to have happened in this current shift in planning, funding and implementing many kinds of programs from the federal to the state level is this: the transfer of funding responsibility occurred before the necessary decision-making machinery or definitive policies were established on a state, regional or local level. Moreover, as revenue sharing was being contemplated, it was never clear what federal programs would be eliminated or what federal monies would be impounded concurrent with the allotment of Federal Revenue Sharing funds to the states. Consequently, we can say a great deal about what is *not* going to happen under this new system and much less about what the prospects for the future are.

In respect to programs related to youth and work on a national level we seemed to have moved from a policy in 1968 of active involvement and commitment to one which now might best be described as one of benign neglect. The effect of this transition from federal to state responsibility has led to the closing of Youth Opportunity Centers, a 50% cut in Job Corps programs, many unresolved doubts about the future of Neighborhood Youth Corps and the curtailment of a program for subsidizing the graduate school training of employment counselors for jobs in manpower offices throughout the country.

On a state level, because of the federal impoundment of 1973 funds and the elimination of some 1974 budgets, there will probably be 10,000 fewer jobs for youth this summer. Uncertainty about the 1974 federal budget appropriations has made it impossible to proceed with planning for the Occupational Education Act. Because Social Security Regulation Funds for Minnesota were cut from $46 million to $12 million, there will be subsequent cuts in monies available for mental health, human services and vocational rehabilitation. The future

of education and special education revenue sharing funds is illusive. Though the State of Minnesota is assigned $34 million for each of the next five years and local units such as counties and municipalities will receive a total of $68 million for each of those years through general revenue sharing funds, no guidelines have been established for disbursement. This leaves us with the question of how much money will be siphoned off for the administration of programs originally administered federally and only implemented locally.

The following discussion of the implications of revenue sharing in terms of value and policy questions would seem to reveal the kinds of issues we need to confront in order to bring some constructive action out of this new system.

Baizerman: When we talk about a shift from the federal to the state level, I think we are talking about not only a shift in locus, but a shift in the quality of the kinds of decisions that get made. State staffs, state legislatures, and state bureaucracies are going to have to make qualitative decisions they haven't made before. There has been a lot of wisdom in Congress and the Federal agencies about decision-making on social policy, not only in the domains of education and manpower but in other areas as well.

Cushing: In philosophy it sounds great to say: "Give the control to the local level and let them make their decisions." I guess I am deeply concerned that they are not making the kinds of decisions which are needed. Would we have had the social improvements of the last decade had Congress itself not acted? I am concerned that mayors are not going to be able to withstand the pressures that come to bear when it comes to disbursing these funds and what may result is action that reflects much less social conscience.

Honetschlager: Right now, I cannot see any way that revenue sharing funds coming to the state will find their way into those national programs which were established as priorities. How will state priorities be assigned?

Baizerman: I think there may be two parts to what I hear right now. I think one part is that the lower we go down to the level of "citizens", the more parochial our perspective becomes and the lower the authority. For

example, in a city like New York which has nearly 1500 local units of government within a 30 mile radius, I doubt that anything more than the location of street lights could be agreed on. Secondly, when money is collected locally and sent to Washington or the state, in part that is a reallocation or transfer of funds from one category into another. Will we be able to transfer funds horizontally on a local level?

Again, we leave you with questions, rather than answers. But resolutions to these questions must be examined carefully and soon if future decisions about priorities and action on programs regarding people and youth in particular are not to be made either out of ignorance or by default.

In terms of meeting youth's needs for information, counselling, training, and placement, governmentally subsidized programs have played a considerable part. This has been particularly true for deprived youth. As the state adjunct of the Department of Labor, Minnesota Manpower Services administers training and development programs under the auspices of those Job Corps programs remaining and the Work Incentive program. That agency also provides services: the Cooperative School Program for counselling, testing, and placement services for graduating seniors and drop-outs; summer youth employment opportunities, career information with computerized centers and apprenticeship information centers. Manpower Services also provides direction to youth employment practices by encouraging employers to hire individuals on the basis of qualifications rather than on age requirements and by referring youth only to those jobs which are not injurious to their health or welfare and which provide an opportunity for advancement. Moreover, the Department of Labor, directly or through contracts with regional centers has administered the Neighborhood Youth Corps and, with the National Urban League, LEAP, an apprenticeship program for minority youth in the building trade unions. Furthermore, the governor's office and mayors of Class One cities have youth coordinators; there is information about youth placed into the manpower planning mechanism by the Comprehensive Manpower Planning System; and Federal and State child labor laws have provided protection against abuse in work settings for minors.

However, one seminar principal felt we could do more:

Wiebler: I believe public policy needs are paramount among those of us who are really concerned about youth. In fact, I think we need to be lobbyists for programs which will better prepare youth to cope with our increasingly technological society, our urbanized society, and perhaps, hopefully, a society which is moving towards humanizing service roles.

What conclusions can we reach about the economic future facing today's youth? The most honest response is that we simply don't know precisely what lies ahead. How does one help youth cope with such uncertainties?

Konopka: There were never many prophets in this world and I'm not so sure many were very reliable in their advice. My personal preference is that we train people to be flexible. We have seen increasingly that things change constantly. I know people my age who not only have had to change occupations three and four times, but also their country and their language.

M. Seltzer: From my viewpoint, what would be most helpful is if we could help the individual realize the full range of the flexible uses of his mind, his hands, his body, and then take what comes. Then I think we could have a healthy society. When we have admitted that predictions are very difficult to make, it would seem that gearing everything to projected slots works at a tremendous disadvantage to those of us who are trying to help people develop as fully as possible so there is a wide range of choice. And I don't think we have to wait for a national policy or funds to do it. I think we can do it all the time, with more or less funds. But the commitment to personal growth in the broadest sense possible is really my main concern. Then, in regard to the national economy, we are still human beings and we are still living. The more choice we have the better.

IV. PLANNING FOR YOUTH AND WORK

QUESTION: WHAT PROGRAMS AND POLICIES EXIST OR COULD BE DEVISED TO MEET THE NEEDS OF YOUTH IN RELATION TO THE WORLD OF WORK?

Keeping in mind the expectations, values and economic facts on which we have touched, the next question would seem to be, how can we translate this knowledge into policy and programs? Understanding that youth needs:

. . . to be equipped with useful and flexible skills

. . . to understand and be able to act on a range of career options and choices

. . . to be employed to the extent he or she wishes

. . . to find some meaning in work

how are we or can we organize our resources to meet these needs?

The role of the school: vocational training, career education and counseling

As we examine strategies, it is evident that the various approaches address the needs mentioned above not in separate but in overlapping ways. For example, programs provided through the schools are especially geared, but not limited to, the first two needs – to be equipped with useful and flexible skills and to understand and be able to act on options. There has been increasing pressure in recent years on our educational system by students, the community and by the economy to better prepare youth for economic independence. Now that the age of emancipation has been legally established at 18 years of age, that responsibility may be even more pronounced. The director of vocational education for the Minneapolis Public Schools articulated his philosophy which initiated this discussion:

Nichols: The reason for all our young people going to school is to learn how to survive in our particular economic situation, in our society. We know two things are going to happen when a person leaves school: one, he is going to live in a democratic society, and two, he is

going to work. The objective of our vocational education programs is to improve our curricula so that by 1975 every young person leaving our system will do so with a saleable skill, regardless of his plans for future education. In that sense we provide a preventive, rather than a curative approach to youth unemployment. We feel that those techniques which would considerably increase the options available to youth are most desirable. Consequently, we now have in our schools programs both for specific training and programs which help students understand their career options. Under the first category, we have 52 satellite vocational-technical centers, 29 specific trade and technical areas taught at vocational-technical institutes and one junior college program. To help better understand the world of work, children in the elementary schools are exposed to career education through field trips, special educational and activity-based curricula, visits to the classroom from various kinds of workers in the community and occupational activity rooms. On a secondary level, there are vocational education programs (for example, orientation to aviation), internships which allow some work experience, magnet school programs which permit students to transfer to schools which offer specialized courses, a program called "City as a Classroom" for work exploration, and interdisciplinary studies. In the latter, for example, a young person wanting to learn to operate a service station can register for a program offering economics, business machines, small business finance, salesmanship, displays, etc.

Field: As an employer myself I am presently faced with a graphic example of the need for young people to have the opportunity to develop a better sense of direction about what they want for their career lives and from their education. I currently have a drawer full of applications for one position. About half are from college students who aren't sure why they went to college and now don't have a job. The other half is from youth who have been given the opportunity to go into the skilled trades but won't because they feel there isn't any satisfaction from it. What I am struck with is that we seem to have unemployable youth in a sense. Part of the problem seems to be the status assigned to certain training and jobs.

Konopka: This is also what happens when you have jobs which are both low-paying and low-status. Again, I

would like to throw out the possibility of paying very well for monotonous, low-status jobs and much lower salaries for the jobs which are more interesting.

Berman: When I was on the staff of the Conservation of Human Resources Study Project, we did a survey of how people make career choices and the conclusion at that time, about ten years ago, was that most people find their way into careers by accident. That is, they blunder in, rather than choosing a career on the basis of knowledge or testing.

Nichols: As of last year Minnesota high school graduates knew only 5% of the available jobs in Minnesota. There is no way in the world that they can make a good career choice on that basis.

Lofquist: I suspect that if you look at large numbers of people, you would find that people choose jobs from what is available, or what is listed in the want ads or what is available through employment services, word of mouth, person to person. They also select work on the basis of very stereotyped information such as the job title. We are also aware that individuals are also subjected to all kinds of pressures in our culture, pressures to do well, pressures to respond to family, to friends, pressures that ask the individual to at least consider carefully certain kinds of work. I think we should also say that people seem to know very little in an organized fashion about job requirements, environments, reward systems, etc., nor do they know very much about themselves, despite the fact that we may think we and our children are tested ad nauseam. Really, very few of us have the opportunity to get a careful assessment and summarization of what the range of our abilities and interests are.

Borow: Compounding the problem is that we seem to have built a monstrous economic structure at the same time we are making it much more difficult for young people to know about it.

Cheetham: I would agree. One aspect of this is that it is becoming increasingly difficult for young people to get knowledge through meaningful job experience. It is more difficult for youth today than when I was in high school when it was more difficult for me than for my

father. In this sense, as society becomes more and more technological, longer and longer training periods are required. In the next decade it is going to become increasingly difficult for young people to get job experience before making commitments of anywhere from two to six years of post-secondary training.

Borow: The fact is, that we have been growing up as occupational illiterates. Around the turn of the century the idea was to give young people an opportunity to try a variety of training situations and then choose what they wanted. Dunwoody Institute was founded in that spirit. Now, the difficulty with that approach is that in an economy with over 21,000 occupations you might be as old as Methesulah before you know what you want. This is the rationale behind the career education model initiated by the Office of Vocational Education. The idea, as Dr. Nichols suggested, is to bring the curricular experience closer to the occupational structure by building subject matter around 15 occupational clusters or categories of jobs which require certain kinds of skills, abilities and interests.

Berg: I want to raise a difficult question here which in no way is meant to deny the importance of what you, in career education, are trying to accomplish. However, one outcome of the enormous sums of money being poured into vocational education is a partial shift of funds away from higher education. As a society, I think we are going to have to make some judgments about this trend in the next several years. What will this trend do to shape our society? Will these priorities in any way alter the goals we have set for ourselves? How do you counsel young people on the choice between vocational education vs. a junior or four-year college program? This, of course, relates closely to the questions and uncertainty about the configuration of the job market. But the fact is that we here at the University are living with some new pressures. We have pulled in our enrollment in some areas such as the College of Liberal Arts. This cuts off some alternatives for young people. I believe that we need to be fully aware of the implications and consequences of what is happening.

Hansen: I think you have raised an important concern. As a counselor, I have always felt that career development should be interpreted and implemented in the broadest sense, that of helping youth find out who they

are, what talents they have, and the place of work and leisure in their lives. One of the things we need to keep in mind has been pointed out by the research of such career development theorists as Don Super, Dave Pediman and John Holidan. That is, career development is a long-term, life-long process that starts with pre-school years and goes right on. The emphasis now is more and more on continuing education because we do not have just one career, but often several serial careers. In this sense the "planlessness" of young people mentioned earlier may be perceived as allowing for flexibility, for the possibility of continued growth and learning which is a more realistic and perhaps more fulfilling kind of life style.

I would like to make a few more comments about the role of the counselor as it is presently developing in terms of meeting youth's needs in relation to their work future. In the past counselors have been much maligned for doing their jobs poorly or not at all. This judgment, while not really earned in the first place, is changing. The system is slowly moving from a situation in which counselors had limited tools, heavy administrative responsibilities and too little cooperation from the school to one of cooperation with teachers and parents and the community at large, including business and professional leaders. The old psychotherapeutic model under which many counselors were trained was really very restrictive when it came to career development. We are now using many strategies which can help facilitate growth in this area: exploratory work experience; bringing in role models; team teaching such courses as the psychology of self, of interpersonal relationships, of careers. Counselors are also helping to identify the resources in the community that can help facilitate students' development.

Dess: Relating to what you have been saying about the difficulty young people have knowing themselves, knowing the sorts of things they might like to do and the difficulty one has training for a specific job with that limited experience, I would like to suggest that some of this self-understanding might come as the result of youth volunteering in various job settings. The role of the volunteer would allow mobility, a kind of sampling which our economic situation at the present time doesn't allow. We did some volunteer placement with troubled adolescent girls last year. They seemed to enjoy what they did, learned a lot about themselves and

many now have some expectations to work for.

Hedin: The Center for Youth Development and Research is currently sponsoring a pilot program called the Student-Community Involvement Project. Through high school social studies classes, students in several schools throughout the metropolitan area are gaining work experience as volunteers and interns in several settings such as nursing homes, elementary schools, day care centers, the state legislature, etc. One of the interesting aspects of the program is that oftentimes students are given more responsible jobs as volunteers than they might have if they applied as paid workers. For example, one student functions as a social work assistant in a nursing home as part of his social studies class and has a paid job as a janitor in this same home for the elderly. He would not have been able to secure a paid position in which he could work directly with the residents in a significant task.

M. Berdie: I think the concept of volunteerism might come closest to the representation of the free choice model, where the person might be able to most freely choose the kinds of vocation or avocation which most nearly fits his needs structure. In terms of research, it might be beneficial to look at the situation in which the volunteer, faced with many options, chooses what he perceives is best for him.

Dahlen: I myself have used volunteer and avocational experience as a way of discovering new directions in my own career. As a teacher and volunteer youth worker at church, I became aware of the variety of students and their needs and this really led me to my present job working with youth through the Department of Court Services. I have also found as director of a program called Pathfinder for troubled girls that these young women have had valuable vocational experiences and have had many of their needs met serving as teacher aides at a nearby elementary school.

From my professional background I would like to offer some further insights into the special needs or problems of disadvantaged youth in respect to employment. One factor is illustrated by something I learned from a girl I met at the Sauk Centre Diagnostic Center. She was and still is a prostitute. I remember my feeble attempts to suggest that she try to train as a secretary. The fact was I was asking her to do something which

would allow her to earn as much in a month as she was making in less orthodox ways in one night. Moreoever, I was asking that she give up a whole lifestyle. These are things that need to be taken into consideration when one thinks of employment for these youth. Also, I have found many young people who would rather be thought of as irresponsible and "bad" than incompetent. They are often unable to finish a job. These are youth who are afraid, who don't show up for jobs arranged for them because they are anxious about how they will handle relationships. We need to provide some special work and counselling services for these youth, I feel.

Halliday: I am sure we could do a better, more creative job than we have, particularly in the area of finding jobs for these young people. I myself would like to spend more time with the business community in the Metropolitan area to convince business that the youth we see in Court Services do have talents which could be very useful to them and that this talent could be used profitably.

Reilly: The business community is being mobilized to some extent. As you may know, the National Alliance of Businessmen was formed in 1968 to find jobs for welfare recipients and the disadvantaged. Last summer 1,500 jobs were procured. At first the NAB program was strictly for the deprived which, under OEO criteria meant coming from a family of four where the income was $3,200 or less. Now the program has been enlarged to include summer and in-school youth employment for the disadvantaged, Viet Nam veterans and, most recently, for ex-offenders. Nationally and locally the structure of the NAB is made up of professionals on loan from the public and private sectors. The NAB campaign for youth employment begins in the spring when businessmen assigned by private companies join together for six weeks to obtain paper commitments from employers for jobs paying from $1.60 to $3-$4 per hour. The company has the option of hiring those youth it wishes who meet the NAB criteria. Referrals are made from school counselors and Manpower Services. In many cases this program has asked corporations to change traditional credential requirements in job descriptions. And we have been amazingly successful. Some of the opportunities formerly reserved for sons and daughters of employees are now saved for the disadvantaged.

Hoffman: While I think programs such as yours are invaluable, we also need to realize that this, along with so many other things we have talked about, are really stop-gap measures. It seems to me that the potential for a long-range kind of improvement in the youth employment picture lies in good planning, but also in good implementation. I wonder if somehow we can convince the government that some bold steps are necessary to maintain the economy for some time to come and to provide measures which would keep youth employment on an even keel.

Nichols: With all due respect to the NAB, I wonder about the ability of a man who has never been hungry, never been wanting, never had trouble getting his education, never had trouble progressing in school, always had exciting programs presented to him to even list jobs for young people who have had those particular kinds of experiences on their backs all of the time, through three, four, or five generations. It's not a black-white thing. I believe being disadvantaged covers a whole spectrum of youth, though we might confine our definition to those youth who belong to a minority group and perhaps those who move from rural areas to the city. My own feeling is that a youth is equally disadvantaged if he belongs to a majority group and doesn't have access to dollars. Can we create work for these youth which is both valuable and interesting to them? As Shirley Dahlen said, can we compete with the kinds of unorthodox ways they might have of getting money?

Freeman: But is the pay significant in making work meaningful? The thought has occurred to me that perhaps we should hire three times as many youth during the summer at 1/3 the minimum hourly wage.

Cushing: When we talk about 350,000 Minnesota youth coming into the labor force this summer, I am talking about a vast majority who need that income. It could be that they don't have money for the coming school year. If you expect those youth to learn and develop good work habits, then I think you might agree that we would have to recognize them, reward them the way we would adults.

Role of the private sector

Halliday: I believe we have an example of a corporation which is doing something creative in the way of social

service and employment in this community and perhaps the idea could be duplicated. A construction firm has recently established the One in Forty Corporation which operates a drug and alcoholic rehabilitation group home on the profits made from two businesses the corporation has subsidized and which employs the participants in the program. My feeling is that if we had the top forty corporations channeling their 5% of gross earnings before taxes into charitable contributions for the human and social services, we could implement some new programs.

M. Seltzer: There is a move toward increasing the involvement of private industry in this way but it is happening very slowly. At the present time businesses are being offered tax incentives through the Work Incentive program to employ women who receive AFDC. To be perfectly candid, they aren't jumping at the opportunity to reap the rewards of tax benefits. However, this is working in other countries, notably England and it might be worthwhile to examine what is happening elsewhere.

Cushing: There are some other suggestions I would like to make regarding possible solutions to youth unemployment and public policy. One is that I think we could increase the combinations of cooperative school programs, work-study programs and internships. Secondly, I think we should seriously consider changing the traditional school year to four quarters so that 2/3 of the students attend at any one time. We could also significantly reduce paper certification, re-evaluate necessary skill and age requirements, shorten some B.A. and vocational-technical training programs and place more emphasis on continuing education. Another possibility I feel strongly about is that we should better motivate industry to do more of its own training, simply because it better knows its own needs, its probable technical changes. Also, I believe that if the janitor or assembly-line worker felt there was the possibility of learning, of mobility, of advancement, that he would be more satisfied with his employment. The creation of incentives of the private sector to undertake these tasks should be understood, investigated and encouraged, possibly with subsidization.

Making work more meaningful: work adjustment theory and job enrichment

Commissioner Cushing's remarks about worker satisfaction bring us directly to the question of how best to approach and remedy the problem of workers' disaffection, the problem of creating work settings which can be more meaningful, not only to youth but to people in general.

Two different views on how this might be accomplished, "work adjustment" and "job enrichment", were discussed during our seminars. The first which we will summarize and discuss was proposed by vocational psychologists Lloyd Lofquist and René Dawis and is called the Theory of Work Adjustment.[9] Their concept addresses the concern mentioned earlier, that so often people take jobs almost haphazardly, accidentally. Seeing the need of counselors for more accurate assessment tools to help people relate to jobs, they worked to create more exact measurements of individual abilities, interests, personality strengths, work-related needs and, at the same time, ways to assess the characteristics of jobs. Some of the assumptions underlying the theory of work adjustment are:

. . . That people differ in respect to what they can do, their abilities and skills and as to what they need . . .

Baizerman: I have trouble in general with the word "need". Do you mean "need" in the sense of "motive", in the sense of "want", or do you get to "need" by subtracting, by pointing to deficiencies or deficits?

Dawis: Our notion is not a deficit concept or a physiological analogy, but it indicates more of an individual preference for certain kinds of environmental conditions, such as rewards and reinforcements.

. . . That jobs differ in respect to (A) requirements or the kinds of abilities needed and whether the emphasis is on skills relating to information and ideas, to things, or to people. The trend in the current economic picture away from increased goods production toward increased services is a trend away from an emphasis on skill with things towards skills with people. (B) The kinds of reinforcements or rewards the work environment offers.

[9] Lofquist, Lloyd and René Dawis, *Adjustment to Work*, N.Y.. Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969.

. . . When an individual's needs correspond with work requirements, satisfactoriness and satisfaction are possible. Rather than trying to change the basic needs structure of either the job or the individual, the practical and active application of this concept of work adjustment is the use of measurement and assessment tools by counselors, psychologists, and personnel management to match the right person with the right job at the right time. The reason this theory discourages believing the individual needs structures can be changed is that high strength preferences seem to be determined by primary experience. In other words, patterns of behavior are reinforced by how a person experiences being a child, how he responds and is responded to by the important people in his life. While self-awareness and elightenment in the adult years may affect how the individual uses his abilities, this kind of knowledge rarely alters basic reinforcement needs.

Valdovinos: The move to adjustment, "the right person with the right job at the right time", makes me nervous. Somehow this suggests to me a nice kind of blah, peaceful existence. I know for me the most creative times in jobs I've had has come because the setting was loaded with conflict and stress. The notion of adjustment sounds dead to me.

Dawis: It isn't dead. It's just the opposite, a very active sort of thing. You see, the environment is always changing and people are always changing. If the individual finds himself in an environment which is intolerable, he has options. We call this the style variable. He may manipulate that environment or adapt to it or choose to move on. Because the needs and abilities of individuals are constantly changing and work settings are also in a continual state of flux, our idea of work adjustment is not that it is a fixed goal, but a continuous, dynamic process.

Cohn: In your work adjustment model, did you do anything in relation to periods of high and low employment? In other words, how did you account for the factor of choice? I wondered pragmatically if having a lesser choice affected the way you perceived adjustment.

Dawis: Our theory was developed with a tight employment market in mind.

R. Berdie: However, I wonder if your question isn't related to alternatives. The theory of work adjustment, like many other theories would seem to become of academic interest only in a situation where there are no options, where there is high unemployment a person hangs on to his job because his need to eat is greater than any of his other needs.

Lippman: I have a question, too, from the counselling perspective. How do you balance off what tests reveal about individual strengths and preferences with what you see as the needs of society?

Cruikshank: One of the things that worries me is that I have a suspicion that if we ever had a favorable economy and patterns of counselling to work with people, we might still find out that our society and our educational system are turning out too many kinds of needs and expectations which cannot be met by existing jobs. I would be reluctant to say that there are now jobs available for the kinds of people we are educating.

Lofquist: What we would guess is that we are not so much turning out people with those needs so much as we are turning out people with expectations for certain levels of satisfaction. Maybe we really don't change those basic needs too much. However, we are looking at how the educational environment, how people are trained reinforces certain needs patterns and how those needs correspond to various work environment requirements.

M. Seltzer: Then I am correct in thinking that you make the assumption that within our society there is a sufficient range of occupational environments to meet the range of needs we have. If one were to move your theory into an "action phase", this would not mean an emphasis on changing the work environment, but on maximum knowledge of what job A or job B actually requires, and what you as Mrs. X or Mr. Y might have to offer. In other words, you would move away from models which have tried to humanize the job situation.

Lofquist: Essentially, the answer is yes. It distresses me that when people talk about disaffection with work, the emphasis is always on changing the person or on restructuring the work environment. There doesn't seem to be

a focus on understanding what it is that people are like in terms of abilities, needs, etc., and what work is like and then perhaps doing some restructuring. Personally, as I have said, I wouldn't bet on changing people, but on understanding what people are like, helping people understand how to use their resources, how to use what they have to learn and offer in particular environments. To do this, you have to have a great deal more understanding of work environments and of people, their work-related traits.

Hurwicz: However, the other part of that concern is that even when people are offered jobs for which they have the skills, they often find the conditions, at the very least, not stimulating. From my own point of view I feel that in the past, workers often have paid a tremendous psychological price because they were at the mercy of the economy. However, if we do have higher employment and if in fact the conditions of manual labor change because of technological devices, I feel it is quite possible and desirable to redesign jobs so there are more creative opportunities. The way Volvo has restructured its assembly line to provide more involvement of the individual employee in the process from its beginning to its completion and the effect this change has had on morale is well known.

M. Seltzer: Now we are in the area of job enrichment and what it has to say about remedies for the work environment.

Borow: In the past I think middle management felt that by organizing human labor in the most efficient way, the economy as a whole would benefit. I don't think this was an empty rationale for what they did. However, we have had in this country in recent years evidence in worker absenteeism, alcoholism and unrest that what worked as efficient in the past may no longer be effective. It could be that workers who were fairly obsequious in the past are beginning to kick up their heels and not accept conditions which their fathers and grandfathers found tolerable. Perhaps youths' vocal protests have had something to do with this. It has become increasingly difficult, at any rate, to satisfy a man simply by giving him a paycheck at the end of the week.

Fraser: When my husband visits factories during campaigns for Congress he mentions to me how often he

sees a worker drive up to the gate and then turn around, as if to say he just can't do it that day. More and more I think we see the purpose of working is to be able to retire early, to get off that assembly line and then go to Florida or Arizona. This is a depressing reality but also evidence that wanting satisfaction from work is not only an expectation of youth but of older people, as well.

Borow: Again, this is partly due to our affluence as a society. However, I agree that young people have had a strong influence in this trend. When young people say they are not overjoyed about mentally preparing for work or preparing for a vocational choice, I would suggest that we think about this in terms of making a demand upon adult society for the type of work in which they would want to invest themselves in a human, meaningful way.

While the counterculture and social action movements really involve a relatively small proportion of our youth, I think in these ways youth have said some significant things about work. The success and vitality of organizations such as MPIRG, a local, Nader-like organization, shows us the possibility and interest of young people who have a certain know-how in establishing an enterprise in the public interest and making a financial go of it. Young people working for Vocations for Social Change, who are out working on farms, running the underground press, publishing *The Whole Earth Catalogue* will probably never succeed in becoming large-scale because the establishment would have to make capital investments in their expansion and probably wouldn't. However, we are learning that concerns, projects and enterprises in which young people can exert leadership and control provide very attractive and valuable experience for some youth. And youth-operated businesses need not be countercultural, by the way.

Fraser: I was interested in a recent report on job satisfaction which revealed through a survey that the two happiest groups of workers were the self-employed and construction workers. Rated second were technical and professional people. The underlying significance of this seems to be that if you can see what you are creating and are part of a small unit where you know what you are doing, you are likely to be happier.

The idea of job enrichment stands in contrast to the

idea of work adjustment because it does suggest that job settings can be reorganized or redesigned to restore the personal and human return which technology and efficiency have reduced, if not destroyed. What constitutes a work setting which does offer some satisfaction and meaning? During the course of this report we have touched on several interrelated general and key components of job enrichment:

. . . We have said that the process, the way people work together and relate to each other is primary. As in the democratization of other institutions, schools, churches, the family, many workers want a higher degree of participation in decision-making, in sharing the important, as well as the menial tasks. We have seen the development of this organizational model in counterculture enterprises. To share in a decision is, in a sense, to have a proprietary interest in the outcome. Perhaps this is also analogous to the difference between the tenant farmer's pride and stake in his crop as opposed to the attitude of the man who owns his own farm. And if the way people work together and the quality of their interdependence is important, the idea that the work ethic must be extended to include reliability and trust among workers is also key.

. . . The opportunity to change and develop as a person, to continue to grow and learn, to not be locked into a work role is essential if we value human potential and dignity. Those workers who wish to advance should have the opportunity for continued training and education because this development is requisite to having broader options and choices.

. . Employers need to reassess job requirements, need to reexamine what educational credentials they see are necessary and what people can do at different ages and stages of their lives. This seems to link the idea of work adjustment with job enrichment, making them not exclusive, but compatible means.

. . . If work tasks were less fragmented, perhaps the worker would feel greater pride in the finished product, might feel his contribution as an individual was more significant, less circumscribed. This idea is being instrumented by assembly line manufacturers in some instances with marked and positive results.

V. DEFINITIONS OF WORK

QUESTION: IN WHAT WAYS CAN OR SHOULD OUR DEFINITION OF WORK BE EXPANDED OR AMENDED TO REFLECT ECONOMIC REALITIES, SOCIAL NEEDS AND EXPECTATIONS?

Ways society links work and identity

In a society which so often says to the individual, "you are what you do", or, however undesirable, "you are what you are paid to do", the need for the individual to find some meaning, some dignity in his work seems absolutely essential. This linking of identity and work also has significance in a discussion of what is work . . .

Baizerman: When people ask, "Who are you?" the second question is, invariably, "What do you do?" I wonder if in the answer to the first question one could get past ten or eleven words before one inserts his "job". This means that when I answer the second question I am, in a sense, even more clearly defined as me.

Geist: When the Center wanted to know how to describe or identify me, I hedged, because this is part of a problem with which I think all of us are dealing. We do get our identity from the work we do. And I don't know which of the work with which I am involved is what I should hand you so that you could know me. The easy out would be to name that job for which I get paid. But to know me I would also want you to know that I am a husband, a father, a student, an inquirer, repeatedly asking what it means to be human.

Hoebel: I can reinforce this. I think your point is that your personal identification is really shorthanded by your job status or position. The thing I have found most annoying the last five months since I have retired is that I am asked again and again what I am doing with myself. My idea was that I would keep on doing what I always did on a sabbatical. But the fact is everyone seems quite worried about me, as if I have lost my identity because I don't have a paid position.

P. Tucker: And I have been confronted with this problem when I did very routine, menial work as a student. I

was very much categorized and classified because of what I was doing. It was hard to get people to look beyond that, to know me.

Geist: In my own study of work values, I prefer to begin with two basic premises: people have worth independent of their work; and work has value independent of its monetary rewards.

Konopka: But I think when we begin to translate those premises into policy, into reality, we run into real trouble. Also, I question how those values would be perceived by those who must work to live, to survive. For them, work and its monetary rewards must be related.

Moving toward a more comprehensive definition of work

Wiebler: However, there are some very serious social policy thinkers such as Alvin Schorr who say that we need to "clothe in the semblance of work that which we previously called leisure".[10] Here, I would like to move towards a broader definition of work. Personally, I am moving toward the point where I see life as work. There are an increasing number of countries who are saying almost that in their social policy: that life up to age 16 years means being vulnerable, means that you should have support guaranteed you because you're breathing. There are certain kinds of people who deserve support just because they are alive. I don't know how we can keep people living as long as we do in this country and humiliate them because they are not "working" to support themselves. It is a paradox that as our technology progresses, we continue to need more and more subsidies for people to be able to cope with that technology and even with affluence we seem to need to establish greater and greater dependency needs among people on public institutions. Considering these realities, I feel we need to give new dignity to subsidies of all kinds and that applies to grants and loans received by students as well. Culturally and fiscally, going to school may no longer be construed as a luxury but as work. You see, I think youth today, in the light of these realities, no longer has any easy definition of work.

[10] Schorr, Alvin L., *Explorations in Social Policy*, N.Y.: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968, p. 289.

CONCLUSION

What seems clear is that our idea of what can be construed as work does need to be expanded. Those who are unable to work still need the dignity, the self-respect which accompanies meaningful accomplishment. Moreover, our economic system simply may not be able to accommodate or satisfy all the needs of people for the kinds of meaningfulness traditionally conferred by paid employment. Whether it's because of a new configuration of the job market, a shortening of the work week, enforced early retirement, or a shortage of ways we might integrate youth into the labor market, it seems inevitable that we are going to have to be more creative, more accepting of a whole spectrum of life styles and work styles.

Perhaps it would be most helpful to youth and our work with them if we reviewed the wide variety of work definitions which have already appeared in this report:

To work is to eat, to live, to survive

To work is to be an adult

To work is to find a meaningful, satisfying and productive role in the economic world

To work is to have some measure of freedom, autonomy, independence

To work is to find a way of fulfilling inner creativity

To work is to find a way of addressing critical social needs and concerns

To work is to engage in any activity directed toward one's aim in life

To work is to be able to afford an activity or goal which might be totally separate from that for which one is paid

. . . and this additional definition which adds further scope . . .

To work is to produce something of value for other people and, conversely, to engage in leisure is to produce something for oneself, to recreate or restore one's sense of self-respect or self-esteem.

To choose one of these definitions as "right" or "correct" or "legitimate" would be to deny the richness, the diversity which is part of our democratic society.

Our hope is that each of these definitions, and the way they are exemplified in activity, will come to be respected. To allow and encourage this expansion of our idea of work is to free youth to realize much more of their potential and, we hope, to give them reason to look to the future with greater optimism.

SUGGESTED READING LIST

The issues related to the subject of youth and work touch on every aspect of life. We are aware that our discussion has, in most respects, only surfaced and identified our concerns. To delve further into these questions is the task we all face in our own ways.

The following reading list is proposed to assist you, should you choose to look in greater depth at youth in relation to work:

Borow, Henry, "Career Development in Adolescence", in *UNDERSTANDING ADOLESCENCE*, second edition, James F. Adams, ed., Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1973, pp. 421-452.

A technologically sophisticated and stable society is not likely to regard its younger members as economic assets, as the less developed societies do. This may delay early entry into the occupational world. Broadened freedom for youth today to make personal decisions increases the responsibility for vocational choice at a time when youth has had little experience with the essential elements of choice.

Green, Thomas F., *WORK, LEISURE, AND THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS*, N.Y.: Random House, 1968.

The way we think about work, jobs, vocations, leisure, and time – the ideology of work – may well be the most significant factor in all that we do in the matter of schools and schooling. An implication for schools in the distinction we make between job and work may be an innovation in our understanding that the necessary task is preparing an adolescent to make a living, nothing more. This would free him from the necessity of identifying who he is with what he does for a living.

Havighurst, Robert, Richard Graham and Donald Eberly, "American Youth in the Mid-Seventies", *NASSP BULLETIN*, The National Association of Secondary School Principals, Vol. 56, No. 367, November, 1972, pp. 1-13.

Today the existing combination of secondary schools, community colleges, job opportunities, military service, and early marriage has failed to meet needs of several million young people in attempting to take adult responsibility. A proposal is made for Action-Learning. Youth would be employed in a variety of action-learning situations occupying from several hours per week up to a full school year, enriching the information-rich, action-poor world of youth.

Kahn, Robert L., "The Meaning of Work: Interpretation and Proposals for Measurement", in *THE HUMAN MEANING OF SOCIAL CHANGE*, Angus Campbell and Philip E. Converse, eds., N.Y.: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972, pp. 159-203.

The nature of work and the work force is an area of great change. These changes and the increase in productivity they reflect and cause, create the possibility of greater choices with respect to work. The nation is in a position to consider the definition of work in broader terms. A proposal is made for a program of social indicators on the meaning of work. The initiation and use of trend data on the meaning of work will create demand for improved measurements as well as practice.

Katzell, Mildred and William Byham, eds., *WOMEN IN THE WORK FORCE*, N.Y.: Behavioral Publications, Inc., 1972.

Proceedings of a Conference sponsored by the Division of Personnel Psychology of the New York State Psychological Association in November of 1970. Facts on the current status of employment of women in the United States are given along with what labor, management, and government are doing about women in the work force. The American education system trains women for subordinate roles. By the time women reach employable age, they are not prepared to compete fairly with men.

Super, Donald E., *THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CAREERS*, N.Y.: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957.

Examines the nature of work, the course and cycle of working life, and factors which affect vocational

development. Adolescence is viewed as a time of self-exploration in the cycle of the working life. At this time a self-concept is developed. Following this period there is a trial process, an attempt to implement a self-concept involving the problem of job selection. Finally, there is "establishment", where the individual settles into a career and the self-concept is implemented.

Tennyson, W.W., Mary Klaurens, L. Sunny Hansen, *THE CAREER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM*, Departments of Counseling and Student Personnel Psychology and Distributive Education, College of Education, University of Minnesota, June, 1973.

Career development is a continuous process of developing and implementing a self-concept with satisfaction to self and benefit to society. Career education is a conscious attempt to systematically facilitate an individual's career development, K-adult, through the school system and community. A model for a career development curriculum is outlined including objectives for students, vocational development tasks by age levels and specific behaviors which characterize each vocational development task.

WORK IN AMERICA, Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1973.

This special task force was charged with examining health, education and welfare problems from the perspective of one of our fundamental social institutions – work. Our nation is being challenged by a set of new issues having to do with the quality of life. In locating this analysis in the institution of work, a point has been found where leverage can be exerted to improve the quality of life. Young workers appear to be as committed to the institution of work as elders have been, but many are rebelling against the anachronistic authoritarianism of the work place.

The Center for Youth Development and Research at the University of Minnesota provides an interdisciplinary focus in research, teaching and work with youth.

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